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ORIGIN EUR-25

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APPROVED BY THE ACTING SECRETARY

EUR - MR. SPRINGSTEEN

EUR/RPM: EJ REATOR

S/S - MR. GAMMON

NSC -MR. HYLAND

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE

USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 180037

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, OVIP

SUBJECT: US-EUROPEAN RELATIONS

1. SUMMARY: THE ACTING SEC REVIEWED US POSITION ON KEY EUROPEAN ISSUES FOR FRG AMB VON STADEN ON SEPT 7. REVIEW HIGHLIGHTED FACT THAT RECENT US PROPOSALS ON JOINT DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES REPRESENTED IMPORTANT INITIATIVE WHICH WE WISHED SEE GO FORWARD EXPEDITIOUSLY. OUR ALLIES WERE NOT, HOWEVER, UNDER PRESSURE TO GO FASTER THAN THEY WISHED. THE ACTING SEC STRESSED NECESSITY OF HAVING THE PRESIDENT'S EUROPEAN TRIP BE PRODUCTIVE, AND NOTED THAT THIS WAS MOST IMPORTANT FACTOR BEARING ON TIMING OF HIS VISIT. END SUMMARY.

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2. FRG AMB VON STADEN CALLED ON ACTING SEC SEPT 7 AND REQUESTED BROAD-GUAGED REVIEW OF US POSITIONS ON ISSUES AFFECTING EUROPE. VON STADEN SAID HE WISHED SEND FRG FONMIN SCHEEL REPORT ON LATEST US THINKING ON PROPOSED

DECLARATION PRIOR TO EC FONMIN SEPT 10-11 MEETINGS, SO THAT SCHEEL COULD ARGUE CONVINCINGLY WHEN CRUCIAL POINTS AROSE IN COPENHAGEN.

3. VON STADEN ACKNOWLEDGED THAT HE HAD NOT YET SEEN REPORT OF EC POLITICAL COMMITTEE MEETING SEPT 4-5, BUT SEEMED TO ASSUME, BASED IN PART ON RECENT FRANK-JOBERT CONVERSATIONS IN PARIS (BONN 12721), THAT THINGS WOULD NOT MOVE FORWARD

SMOOTHLY. THE FRG DID NOT WANT TO DRAMATIZE DISAPPOINTMENTS, AND WOULD NEVER ITSELF ADOPT A MINIMALISTIC POSITION. IT HAD TRIED AND WOULD CONTINUE TO TRY TO MOVE THINGS FORWARD. NONETHELESS, VON STADEN RECALLED THAT EVERY FLEET MOVES ONLY AS FAST AS ITS SLOWEST VESSEL.

4. THE ACTING SEC EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR THE FRG'S BASIC APPROACH AND FOR ITS RECENT EFFORTS. GIVEN QUESTIONS WHICH HAVE ARISEN IN MANY QUARTERS, THE ACTING SEC SAID HE WISHED HIGHLIGHT SEVERAL POINTS. FIRST, IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT EUROPEANS UNDERSTAND THAT THERE WAS NO DOMESTIC POLITICAL PRESSURE OR REQUIREMENT THAT THE PRESIDENT TRAVEL TO EUROPE AT THIS TIME. THE VISIT WAS CONCEIVED AS A MEANS OF ASSISTING US/EUROPEAN RELATIONS, OF BRINGING GREATER COHESION AND STRENGTH TO THE ALLIANCE. THIS WAS ALSO THE PURPOSE BEHIND THE PROPOSED JOINT DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES. THE PRESIDENT WANTS TO COME TO EUROPE ONLY IF SUCH A VISIT CAN PRODUCE IMPORTANT AND PRODUCTIVE RESULTS.

5. WITH RESPECT TO THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES, THE ACTING SEC EMPHASIZED THAT WE DO NOT WISH TO IMPOSE ANYTHING ON OUR ALLIES, EITHER IN TERMS OF SUBSTANCE OR TIMING. WE HAVE PUT FORWARD OUR PAPER WHICH IS UNDER DISCUSSION. WE APPRECIATE THAT OTHERS, LIKE THE BRITISH, HAVE PUT FORWARD PAPERS OF THEIR OWN. WE WELCOME THE FACT THAT THE EUROPEANS ARE WORKING TO OVERCOME DIFFERENCES OF VIEW, BUT ONLY THEY CAN DECIDE WHAT IS THE PROPER PACE TO ADOPT. FOR OUR PART, WE SEE THE MATTER AS
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ONE OF GREAT IMPORTANCE, WHICH SHOULD GO FORWARD EXPEDITIOUSLY, BUT WE WILL NOT PRESSURE THE EUROPEANS TO MEET A PREDETERMINED VISIT SCHEDULE. WE ARE TRYING TO BUILD COHESION, AND WE DO NOT WISH TO CREATE FURTHER DISSENTION OR DIFFICULTIES.

6. VON STADEN ASKED IN THIS CONNECTION IF THE DATE OF NOVEMBER 15, WHICH THE EUROPEANS HAD HEARD, WAS NOT A KIND OF DEADLINE. THE ACTING SEC SAID IT WAS NOT. IT IS TRUE THAT THE PRESIDENT HAS A CALENDAR, AND THAT GIVEN THE PRESSURE ON HIS SCHEDULE IT COULD WELL BE THAT THERE WILL BE A DELAY OF SEVERAL MONTHS IF THE PRESIDENT CANNOT TRAVEL TO EUROPE BY MID-NOVEMBER. BUT THE IMPORTANT THING

WAS NOT THE DATE, BUT THE FACT THAT THE PRESIDENT WISHED TO TRAVEL FOR PRODUCTIVE PURPOSES, AND WOULD NOT VISIT EUROPE OTHERWISE.

7. THE ACTING SEC SAID HE WISHED TO MENTION TWO ADDITIONAL MATTERS OF A GENERAL NATURE. FIRST, WE SEE PROBLEMS IN BEING FORCED TO DEAL WITH EUROPE AS A BLOC, WITH THE EUROPEANS NOT INFORMING US UNTIL THEY HAVE REACHED A

COMMON POSITION. WE DO NOT WANT A SECRETIVE EUROPE, WHICH TALKS TO US ONLY THROUGH A DESIGNATED CHAIRMAN. INSTEAD, WE CONSIDER OURSELVES A PARTNER, A FULL MEMBER WHO WISHES TO BE INFORMED OF DEVELOPMENTS AS THEY OCCUR, IN MANY AREAS ON A BILATERAL BASIS. OUR DESIRE IS TO BE INVOLVED THROUGHOUT THE PROCESS OF EUROPEAN CONSULTATION AND DECISION MAKING.

8. SECONDLY, ALTHOUGH WE DO NOT INTEND TO USE ECONOMICS AS A CLUB ON OUR ALLIES, WE DO NOT THINK ECONOMIC, TRADE, MILITARY AND POLITICAL ISSUES CAN BE COMPLETELY COMPARTMENTALIZED AND DIVORCED FROM ONE ANOTHER. MILITARY STRENGTH IS DIRECTLY RELATED TO ECONOMIC WELL-BEING. OUR TRADE, MONETARY AND BALANCE OF PAYMENTS PROBLEMS ARE RESPONSIBLE TO SOME DEGREE FOR THE PRESSURE IN THE US FOR TROOP WITHDRAWALS. THESE ISSUES ARE INTERTWINED, AND WHILE WE CAN DISCUSS THEM SEPARATELY AND SEEK TO ISOLATE INDIVIDUAL ELEMENTS, THEY MUST BE SEEN AS PART OF A SINGLE WHOLE.

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9. VON STADEN THANKED THE ACTING SEC FOR THIS EXPOSITION OF US THINKING. HE ASKED, HOWEVER, IF THIS MEANT THE US DISAGREED WITH THE CURRENT CONSULTATIVE PROCEDURES THE EC-9 HAD ADOPTED. THE ACTING SEC SAID THIS WAS NOT THE CASE. OUR ONLY THOUGHT WAS THAT IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE TO TALK TO INDIVIDUAL ALLIES WHILE THE 9 WERE IN THE MIDST OF THEIR CONSULTATIONS. THIS WENT TO THE HEART OF OUR OBJECTIVES. WE WERE SEEKING TO MODERNIZE, RE-INVIGORATE AND STRENGTHEN THE ALLIANCE. THIS WON'T OCCUR IF THE ALLIANCE IS DIVIDED INTO TWO GROUPS, ONE OF WHICH ONLY SPEAKS TO THE OTHER THROUGH A DESIGNATED CHAIRMAN. WE WANT AND CONTINUE TO SUPPORT POLITICAL UNIFICATION OF THE COMMUNITY, BUT WE THINK IT MISTAKEN FOR THE EUROPEANS TO ACT AS IF SUCH UNIFICATION HAD ALREADY BEEN ACCOMPLISHED.

10. VON STADEN AGREED THAT THIS WAS A CENTRAL POINT. HE NOTED IN THIS CONNECTION EARLIER STATEMENTS BY BRANDT AND SCHEEL THAT THE COMMUNITY SHOULD BE TREATED AS IF IT HAS ALREADY ACHIEVED THE UNITY IT HOPED TO HAVE BY 1980. IN HIS OWN VIEW, UNITY WAS FORGED BY A COMBINATION OF BUILDING AN INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK AND RESPONDING TO EXTERNAL CHALLENGES. IN SOME WAYS THE PROPOSED DECLARATION OF

PRINCIPLES COULD BE VIEWED AS ONE SUCH EXTERNAL CHALLENGE,
WHICH IN THE END WILL ASSIST EUROPE IN COMING TOGETHER.

11. THE ACTING SEC SAID HE WOULD NOT OBJECT TO THIS AS-
SESSMENT. OUR ONLY POINT WAS THAT WE WISH TO BE TREATED
AS A PARTNER - NOT AN OUTSIDER. THE MEETING CONCLUDED

WITH A BRIEF FURTHER DISCUSSION OF THE PRESSURES WITHIN
THE US FOR TROOP REDUCTIONS, WITH THE ACTING SEC
EMPHASIZING THE IMPORTANCE THAT WILL BE ATTACHED IN THIS
COUNTRY TO THE ACHIEVEMENT OF SOUND OFFSET AND BURDEN
SHARING AGREEMENTS WITH THE FRG AND OUR OTHER EUROPEAN
ALLIES. RUSH

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